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on the *sil* salt and some spices are usually added. The dough is then moulded by hand into cakes of various sizes which are fried in sweet (*til*) oil or in clarified butter. *Bara* is usually eaten in this form though occasionally, if curd is available, it is soaked in that until soft. 252

Dahi is a form of sour milk, though a particular strain of bacteria seems to be required. A bit of old *dahi* is put into the new milk which has been sweetened and to which possibly a little sliced green chili has been added. This is set aside until the *dahi* is formed.

Khir. This is made by boiling rice in milk over a slow fire. Sugar is added to sweeten. When the mixture becomes creamy, chopped cocoanut, pistachio, and *ilachi* seeds are added to taste.

Batasa. Sugar is boiled with water until there is a very thick syrup. This is poured into a cocoanut shell which has a small hole in the bottom through which the syrup may drip. This is allowed to drip on cloth or paper forming small balls of various sizes. The product turns out to be a small whitish ball, spongy and very sweet.

FOOD TABOOS. There are certain things which Kols never eat. The use of beef and carrion is universally tabooed. The latter is eaten only by outcastes, and beef is not taken in deference to their Hindu neighbours. It was noted that pork is among the foods used. In Hinduized centres it is no longer eaten as a regular dish, but it is still partaken of at festival times when a young pig may be offered to the goddess and ceremonially eaten. Nothing that creeps on the ground should be eaten. 262 [564] [178 782]

Among other animals which they never kill nor eat are found the names of the parrot, sparrow, crow, kite and *galgal* (*Acridotheres tristis*).

INTOXICANTS. There is evidence to show that the Kols are not so addicted to the use of intoxicants as they were in previous years. At times of religious ceremonies liquor is still used quite freely and no penalty is attached. In one centre we were informed that the *panchayat* fines any man who is caught drinking liquor, and that they had totally abolished its use in that village. In other places they were not so successful, and yet there was a standard penalty of Rs. 10 or a community feast, when, in the judgment of the *panch* the circumstances warranted it. 273 [184 623 681]

Contact with city life seems to increase the use of liquor; and Koi dwellers in Jubbulpore have distinctly less feeling against it and more often indulge in its use than do the people living in the village. [369]

As far as we could learn there was no record of the Kols resorting to the illicit distillation of intoxicants. When they need liquor for their [443]

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feasts or religious observances they go to the toddy shops. Here they may secure the following types of intoxicants: From Indian sources liquors from the Mahua tree (*Bassia latifolia*); the toddy palm (*Borassus flabellifer*); the date palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*) and the sago palm (*Caryota urens*). Cheap "foreign" liquors may be bought too, and a bottle of cheap wine may be used at the time of worship; but as a rule they do not resort to these on account of their being relatively more expensive.

PERSONAL DECORATION. Kol men do not wear much in the way of decoration. In their case most ornaments are purely amulets. The Thakuriya Kol often wears a bit of gold about its person, usually in the form of an ear-ring.

Kol women are fond of decorations and there are many kinds of cheap jewellery available with which they often bedeck themselves. There is usually found a gold nose decoration fitted into the left side of the nostril which had been pierced when the woman was quite young. The text figure shows one of these, which is said to have cost Rs. 4-3-0. There are generally some ear decorations as well. These take various forms and are of both silver and gold or sometimes of cheaper materials. On the arms above the elbow one may find a silver bangle, and below the elbow several silver bangles, between them, however, being yellow and red lac bangles. The lac bracelets are bright and pretty, and they also serve the purpose of keeping the silver bracelets apart, for the rubbing wears down the silver. Often between the silver and the lac bracelet there is a silver bracelet entirely wrapped with thread or string in order to keep the silver bangle next to it from rubbing against anything.

MASS DECORATION

Fig. 11

The head is decorated with hair chains, and sometimes the ear-rings have a string of coins attached to them. Around the neck is often a plain silver ring.

For the legs there are anklets or ankle bracelets. These are

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another. In more Hindu-ized communities they may set off fireworks at this time if they can afford them. The arrangement for these is made by a Basor. In the midst of this din the girl's father speaks to the boy's father and tells him that they are glad that they have come, that they will expect them to tarry for some days in their village, and that everything possible will be done for their comfort. As the best wedding months are usually dry and pleasant, the boy's party may be accommodated under a large tree. Wherever they are put, the place is called the *janmasa*. If there is an available house so much the better.

THE WEDDING PALKI - SUGGESTED

Fig. 22

On entering the village the two parties repair to the bride's house, led by the woman with the lamp on her head. Upon reaching the house the rice is taken out of the *barain*, pipes are passed around, for a smoke, and even drinks may be offered. During this time the bridegroom has remained seated in his *palki* which is now brought close to the marriage booth. He reaches out and shakes the booth, to test, as it were, its strength and workmanship. The girl's mother comes to the *palki* and with the thumb and little finger of her right hand dabs a bit of vermilion on the forehead of her future son-in-law and then pours out the water which was in the *balsa* with the light that brought them into the village. Members of each group should bring *gular* or *semal* twigs, as the case may be, which have been plastered with *gobar* and which have some *tikas* (dabs) of *sendur* on them. These are laid in the centre of the booth next to the *magrohan*. The *ghara* of *lawa* is taken by a member of the boy's group, who walks round the *palki* seven times with it. After the seventh round the boy's *maur* or wedding crown (made up usually, of peacock feathers, bamboo and palm leaves) is removed and the party retires to the place prepared for them, the *janmasa*.

Arriving at the *janmasa* they settle themselves and are again supplied with smokes by members of the bride's household. Pre-

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585 (wedding crown) is removed. He then turns to his bride and takes off a portion of the *sari* covering her head and sees her features for the first time. She immediately covers her head again. This is [788] repeated seven times but after the seventh he does not again remove the covering, and it is said that henceforth her head is to remain covered to the day of her death if he outlives her, and to the day of his death if she becomes a widow. A *sari* cloth is now brought and is [554] wrapped about the boy and girl; in the seclusion of this the boy puts 386 some *sendur*, with the little finger of his right hand, on the girl's forehead indicating that she is now a married woman. The first three [826] fingers should on no account be used. The Brahmin now takes his leave, for his work is done, and he is paid a fee usually amounting to Rs. 1-4-0.

585 The boy soon comes out of the house and greets his friends and 574 tells his party that it is time for them to retire to the *janmasa*. Before they are allowed to depart, however, they are invited to a feast close to the *marhwa*. Their feet are again washed and a feast, as lavish as can be managed, is given them. At least the following should be [262 provided: rice, pulse, *bara*, *puris*, curds, spices and sweets. Some- 273] times there is drinking but the Kols are not much addicted to this. The bridegroom begins the feast by taking the first mouthful; then the others may start. Usually they eat seated in a circle on the ground and are entertained at the time by singing and dancing. The bridegroom is paid four annas for starting things off and the rest of the night is spent in this manner.

(c) *Bida* (or *bidai*): The Return of the Bridegroom to his House. The returning party leaves the girl's village on the third day. About noon on that day there is another feast, the final one, which is only for [607] the members of the departing company, except that the bridegroom's [606] *sar* (brother-in-law) also eats with them. The groom refuses to eat until his mother-in-law promises him a gift such as a goat or a cow. The bridegroom is also presented with the gifts which were made to the couple and these are handed over to his *swasa* to keep for him. The men of both parties embrace and put a *tika* of *sendur* on one another, each man waving a pice over the head of another and then presenting it to him. *Ilachi* (cardamom), *pan* and *supari* are distributed.

585 The women now appear in a group and the mother-in-law puts lamp black under the eyes of the boy's father and also sprinkles a bit of *haldi* water over him. The other women do the same to the remaining members of the bridegroom's party. A bit of lac on a string is sometimes tied about their necks. The boy's father drops a rupee into

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Dancing is invariably accompanied by singing and drumming. Liquor is often consumed in connection with it, and in one place, when seeking to see a dance, we were told that they would give an exhibition only if we bought them some liquor. The intoxicated state also lends aid to elopement.

The *dadra* dance is the most popular and most Kol dances are purely *dadras*. On such an occasion the men first gather around in the evening and sing and play for an hour or so. Finally a few women, one to six in number, put on the dancing costume over their *saris*, for without this they will not dance. This costume consists of two pieces : a red and yellow *lahanga*, which is like a dress made of many folds and is tied at the top so that the bottom just sweeps the ground, leaving the feet barely visible. The head is covered with the second portion, the *chunariya*, a shawl made of the same material as the *lahanga*. The shawl is thrown over the head and is held by the left hand so that when the person is standing erect the face is covered. On the feet are *ghunghunis*, ankle bracelets, which make a jingling sound.

After putting on the dancing costume, which is usually done right before those present, the dancers go and stand facing the players. If there are several who are to dance they do not necessarily go at the same time, and when they get there they do not keep together in their movements. While one is standing the other may be whirling. The dancers usually stand for some minutes in silence in front of the players who are singing to them and coaxing them to begin their dance. Then the knee is slightly bowed and the dancer begins to whirl. If one starts this movement in a clockwise direction, that direction is apparently followed by all the dancers, and the other direction is not taken. On the other hand, if they begin with the counter-clockwise movement then that is retained for the evening. On the whole the clockwise movement is favoured and is mostly used, but it is said that there is no hard and fast rule about it. The dancer may turn a number of times, but there is no set number of turns, it must fit into the song. The whirling is not particularly rapid, nor is it done on the heel. Having completed the revolutions the dancer stops, facing the drummers and the male singers, and begins her song. The men cease from their singing, but accompany her on their drums. As the dancer sings she moves by slow steps first to the left and then to the right, but not more than four or five feet in either direction from the original position. As the feet move the legs are shaken so that the anklets make a jingling sound. As a rule the shawl is held closed by the left hand, but when bending over the left hand is kept free, and it is used along with the

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159 certificate examination. And my disease increased so much that it seemed that I was useless to the life of the world. Ever since the time the dog bit me I was put to sorrow, trouble and all sorts of miseries. And up until now I could not get rid of my troubles and my disease is increasing and it seems that sooner or later it will cause my death. At the present time I am much disappointed in life. This world has become meaningless to me and everything seems to come to nothinguess. At this time I seem to be absolutely unworthy of either heaven or hell. I pray that Bhagawan may never give such a mournful life to another.

With all these troubles and miseries of life I continued to study very labouriously. At least my classmates and teachers know of my hard study, or at least Bhagawan knows the heart of men and no one else. Fate! Thou art Wonderful!

HARLAL: A KOL STRUGGLING WITH THE NEW ORDER[1]

I was born in the month of *Srawan* (July-August), 1909 in the village of Burgi which is about 18 miles from Jubbulpore. My father was a railway worker and had a responsible position in the station at [465] Burgi where he got Rs. 30/- per month which was later increased to Rs. 40/-. My grandfather came from our country Rewa, but both my father and I were born in Burgi. As time went on my father had trouble with the railway authorities and could not bear their ill treatment. In addition to this he was not granted leave when he wanted to attend marriages or festivals, so he finally resigned and came to live with an uncle who was living in Barela. I was the first born child and was about seven years old when we came to live in Barela.

At present we are two children: my sister and myself. My sister was born after we came to Barela. When my father retired from the railway and came to Burgi he had a lot of money, but at that [273] time he was in the habit of drinking and it was all wasted in that way. Somehow, after it was all gone, he came to his senses and with the help of the *panch* and their influence he gave it up. With the little money that was left he made me learn the work of a carpenter and bought me [335] about sixty rupees worth of tools which helped me get started. Through the help of those tools I was able to earn a daily wage and live nicely. I can make tables, chairs, and most anything that an ordinary carpenter can make.

[876] As regards my education my father sent me to school, and I went for only a few days. Unfortunately the teacher began to punish me

1 See plate XXVII.